743 The Public Health Department maintains a large base hospital at Saiho, 5 miles from Sivepe. A vegetable market at Saiho, originally established to supply the hospital, now serves a wider 366 range of customers and at present is open every Thursday and Saturday (E. Waddell: personal communication). A few Sivepe [432] people in our sample sell vegetables there regularly but seldom [438] buy anything except lime (for chewing with betel nut). There are well-stocked trade stores at Saiho and Awala and a Savings Bank agency at Awala. In 1963 a trade store was established near Sasembata, by a member of Kongahambo village.

[77] We could not complete this introductory sketch of local 648 facilities and conditions without noting the traumatic experiences of the mountain Orokaiva during the life-span of the older men. Even an abbreviated description of local attitudes towards introduced economic and social changes such as we attempt later, would be inadequate unless it alluded to the likely deep impact of the following events.

First, the early government patrols, which encountered widespread opposition from the Orokaiva, were attacked most persistently by the 'Wasida' people who include the Sivepe villagers. Fighting was fierce and many of the old men we talked to had seen close relatives killed or wounded.

Second, during World War II the paths of advance and retreat of Australian and Japanese troops crossed this area and the [121] Orokaiva were 'drawn in as helpers, willingly or unwillingly, on both sides of the lines'.[1] Some Orokaiva groups also became involved in intertribal skirmishes at this time - during our stay an imminent military exercise occasioned apprehensions among some Orokaiva about a possible resumption of dormant intertribal conflict at the time of the exercise.

Scattered for safety in the bush while the wartime campaigns swept the area, many people in the neighbourhood of Sivepe died of malnutrition. In addition, there was very thorough recruiting [161] of local men for subsequent phases of the war elsewhere in the Territory. In 1948 patrol staff reported that there was cause for concern in the continued decline in population.[2] At this

[1] Keesing 1951:8. For an account of this episode see McCarthy 1959: Ch. 4, 10 ff., see esp. pp.110, 126n and maps pp.123, 357.

[464] [2] The war was said to have been a contributing factor; moreover, many villagers were employed as labourers on local European plantations and returned only at weekends; more important, the percentage of able-bodied males absent elsewhere as indentured labour had reached 31 and the officer accordingly recommended in 1948 that the area including Isoge, Isivita and Awala villages be closed to recruiting.

252 [461] gardens. If absolutely necessary it will be made without outside assistance, such being the case with one household with inadequate food supplies in its gardens in period III because the head had been absent for several weeks earlier in the year.

241 [262] (ii) Seasonality and the pattern of subsistence food production. While no significant 'dry season' occurred during 1964, the data gathered suggest that the cycle of agricultural activities is partly designed to allow for a dry spell at mid-year. During period II little taro or yam were producing and breadfruit and sago replaced these as the major contributors of carbohydrate to the diet. Yet an agricultural system which is characterised by a period of food scarcity was disrupted by unseasonally wet weather. Heavy rains deterred people from carrying out routine garden tasks, including food gathering, and probably accounted for the postponement of sago-making. On a number of nights during this period evening meals were not prepared because of rain and individual families went to bed hungry.

433 512 [432] (iii) Marketing of subsistence produce. This is only a minor activity amounting to 0.3 hours per man-week. Food crops may be sold either at the weekly market at Saiho hospital or exchanged for trade goods at Sasembata mission station, but their rates are so low that there is no systematic production of food crops for sale to these bodies.[1] Although more favourable prices probably obtain at Popondetta market, distance and lack of transport preclude the Sivepe people from selling there.

(iv) Other subsistence activities. Other subsistence activities comprise the preparation of tools and equipment and house construction. Handicraft work only accounts for 0.3 hours per man-week and primarily involves the preparation of axe handles, spears, traps and nets for hunting, troughs for fermenting coffee, a variety of mats and bags made from woven palm leaves, and various decorative items of a ceremonial nature.[2]

While mats and bags are made throughout the year, the other tasks are largely related to seasonal and specialised needs, the peak (0.5 hours per man-week) occurring in period III with the preparation of hunting equipment and ceremonial dress for the Christmas festivities.

Forty per cent of the time spent in the preparation of tools and equipment is taken up by ceremonial goods, 25 per cent by woven baskets and mats, and 20 per cent by traps, nets and spears for

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[1] See p.20.4

[462] [2] String bags have been excluded on the grounds that, although probably the most important piece of equipment, the women usually make them in the course of doing household tasks.

A,[See Category 435, p.20--Analyst]

461 [464] Although returns to labour from paid work are substantially less than from cash cropping,[1] medical work is popular among young people because of their participation in a group with common interests, while contract work, being more casual than most forms of paid work, enables most village activities to be pursued concurrently with it. An important consideration for the married person is that such work can be done while continuing to reside with one's family in the village.

512 177 [797] (iii) Other activities. Of activities associated with the external sector of the economy, it is the 'non-productive' which are the most time-consuming: 5.8 hours per man-week are devoted to the external agencies, 3.0 of them to the church. The proximity of Sivepe to an Anglican mission head station run by an expatriate largely accounts for this as church activities tend to be more highly organised and frequent than on an out-station, so much so that during the Easter church festival, 13.1 hours per man-week were absorbed by services (week 8). Similarly labour requirements, in terms of voluntary assistance in erecting and maintaining buildings, are far greater at a head station.

Church activities reached a peak during period II with the Feast of St Mary Magdelene, the visit of a bishop, and the reconstruction of school classrooms. During period III a marked decline was registered, largely due to the general resentment of the villagers at what they considered to be excessive demands placed on their time during the preceding dry season. It was felt these demands had conflicted with major village activities such as cash cropping and the increased urgency of the food quest at that time.

[797] Formal gatherings or meetings are a recurrent aspect of village life. Of the 1.3 hours per man-week spent at them, 42 per cent is in connection with the Administration - at census takings, court cases, etc. - and a further 26 per cent with women's organisations - the Administration-sponsored women's club and the mothers' union run by the Anglican mission. The balance of the time is divided between political, OCGS and Oro Ltd meetings and disputes within the village.

[466] [651] The local government council dictates that one day per week be spent on road maintenance and upkeep of the village area. It also requires that all adults present themselves, annually, for tax payments and that all births and deaths are registered. Altogether this council work amounts to 1.2 hours per man-week.

[432] While Sivepe is close to a number of trade stores, the people's limited requirements from them results in little time (0.4 hours per man-week) being spent in the purchase of goods.

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[1] For a detailed analysis of comparative returns to labour see pp.290, 292.

8: Waddell & Krinks 8-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

554 Only occasionally do his monetary aspirations appear openly to conflict with customarily defined Orokaiva behaviour. Two such cases may be instanced.

432 While the practice of 'marketing' pigmeat is becoming increasingly common among the inland Orokaiva, initially to 'strangers' by hawking around villages or selling it at Saiho market, it is also beginning to operate among kinsmen at the intra-village level. 'Marketing' normally follows the unpremeditated killing of a pig, as in the case of one having broken into a garden. Two cases occurred in Sivepe during the year, one organised by the village councillor and the other involving a pig of Linton's. While Linton shot the pig himself and decided to 'market', at the last moment he left the village and another member of Timumu clan cut it up and sold it, giving all the proceeds to Linton's mother.
[431] In a third case Linton had decided to distribute the legs as hande[1] but market the body. Again at the last moment he changed his mind and made hande with all the meat.

472 Linton faced a similar conflict between custom and cash in his hunting activities. As
224 the owner of a shotgun he did a great deal of hunting, particularly in the dry season, formulating a business arrangement with non-kinsmen from other villages whereby he would
[571] hunt on their behalf if they provided the cartridges and a cash payment of 10c with each cartridge. In return he guaranteed a flying fox for each cartridge. By such a restriction of entrepreneurial activities to people outside the 'sympathy group'[2] an effective compromise is achieved between customary values and commercial aspirations, and individual security founded on reciprocal exchange among kindred is not impaired.

554 Linton's status in the community, and the diversity of his interests and loyalties, is manifested by his being the most active person in the sample.[3] With a mean activity week of 82.9 hours he distributes his efforts throughout the range of activities (with the exception of household and sickness which are predominantly the concern of women) leaving little time for informal socialising.

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1 Hande: a prestation where subsequent reciprocation is expected.

2 i.e. the group 'to which the individual feels he owes allegiance; he gives them his sympathy, and from them he expects to receive sympathy; and their limits are the limits of his intra-group morality' (Williams 1930:310). For a lengthy discussion of the concept see Williams 1930:308-35. See also Lawrence's discussion (1967:101-5) of the 'security circle', an analogous concept.

3 With the exception of the girl in full-time employment at Sasembata clinic.

431 Clothing and tobacco, together with two specific gifts of a radio and a wrist watch, formed the bulk of goods received in this manner.

In the case of food a larger proportion is acquired from other subsistence villagers since some, particularly rice, circulates in a cooked form in the manner of taro and other garden produce, while tinned foods are frequently featured in more formal prestations.

Finally, the circulation of cartridges is directly connected with the rendering of hunting services and the provision of wild game.

(b) Monetary sector

432 438 (i) Subsistence produce. A small volume of subsistence produce is exchanged for cash but no such changes occur between kin apart from some pig which may be 'marketed' in the village and here accounts for 38 per cent by value of all transactions. Two categories can be identified according to the type of goods and circumstances of exchange. Sweet potatoes, taro and yams are sold by women to external agencies - the hospital administration at Saiho and the Anglican mission at Sasembata. These sales are largely unpremeditated and sporadic. The other goods, particularly areca, pepper, lime, pig, wild game and smoked fish are all scarce in some part of the sub-district and are normally transacted by the men, at Saiho market or with hawkers travelling through the village. Thus pig and other game always find a ready market because they do not constitute regular elements of the diet, while lime and fish are not available locally but are carried into the area by hawkers from the mouth of the Mambare and other coastal areas. Areca is plentiful around Sivepe and occasionally men carry bunches to Saiho to sell to people living at lower altitudes, along the Kumusi and towards Popondetta, where it is less common.

437 (ii) Labour services. Only two instances occurred of labour services being rendered in return for a cash payment, both in connection with cash crops. One involved assistance in marketing rubber and the second travelling to Awala to receive payment for coffee previously delivered.

[434] (iii) Cash crops. The cash crops, coffee and rubber, account for three-quarters of income derived from the sale of village products but only 26 per cent of the sample's total income (see Table 10:3). The marketing of both is the direct concern of the producer and there is little evidence of movement of the harvested product between members of the sample, either as payment for labour services rendered or due to one individual acting as middle-man between the producer and buyer.[1]

[1] But see p.203.

461

Table 10:6

Sivepe: the type and volume of labour services transacted during each recording period
(hours)

Activity	Period I hrs	%	II hrs	%	III hrs	%
1. Subsistence						
Clearing	67.8	8	61.8	7	35.9	7
Taro - plant	21.8	3	39.6	5	16.9	3
maintain	-	-	16.7	2	14.8	3
harvest	10.6	1	17.2	2	-	-
Yam - harvest	128.9	15	-	-	90.3	17
Coconuts - harvest	3.9	-	17.2	2	16.4	3
Sago-making	-	-	489.2	56	30.6	6
Hunting	-	-	36.5	4	31.2	6
Construction	328.1	38	152.9	17	21.6	4
Pig-carrying, butchering, etc.	32.2	4	8.0	1	136.2	26
Food-carrying	-	-	-	-	76.6	15
Miscellaneous	2.6	-	19.5	2	57.7	11
Sub-total: subsistence	595.9	69	859.6	98	528.2	101
2. Cash						
Coffee - harvest	54.4	8	-	-	-	-
process	205.1	24	3.3	-	-	-
Rubber - market	8.0	<1	-	-	-	-
Errand-running	6.3	<1	16.0	2	-	-
Sub-total: cash	273.8	32	19.3	2	-	-
Total	869.7	101	878.9	100	528.2	101

The exchange of labour services in the cash sector is significant only during period I. Associated almost entirely with the harvesting and processing of coffee, in themselves strictly seasonal activities, they account for 32 per cent of transactions, while, as a single activity, coffee processing is exceeded only by construction in the volume of labour services utilised. On account of the urgency associated with the processing of coffee, the circumstances in which assistance is rendered are essentially the same as for subsistence activities.

432 [434]

(iii) Cash crops. All sales of coffee were restricted to period II (following intensive production during the latter part of period I) when a mean weekly income of $9.72 was derived from them. Rubber sales were made in periods I and III when mean weekly returns of 33c and $1.11 respectively were obtained. In fact the pattern

derived from the data is in part misleading since sales of coffee were made periodically from June through to September while rubber can be, and is, sold at any time of the year. A feature of both crops is, however, that substantial quantities are harvested, processed and stored prior to entry into the exchange system. Unlike most subsistence crops both are capable of storage while, in the case of coffee, the infrequent opportunities for sale make this a necessity. Over the survey three sales of rubber and five of coffee were recorded.

(iv) Storebought goods (Table 10:7 and Fig.10:3). The distinct periodicity apparent in the movement of the major storebought goods is connected with both seasonal factors and the receipt of parcels from kinsmen in wage employment. The consumption of these goods can be variously judged, according to the time of year, as supplementing the subsistence diet or as being surplus to requirements. During period I, with little feasting and an abundance of garden produce (plus a shortage of available cash), only a small quantity of food is purchased and none circulated. The acquisition of rice is at a peak during period II to compensate for the shortage of starches in the subsistence sector; yet even at this time consumption amounts to only about 1 lb of white rice per adult per week. Most is purchased in 1 lb or 2 lb lots from local trade stores, although on one occasion (in week 16) a 56 lb bag was purchased. Most conspicuous consumption and exchange takes place during period III: tinned meat and fish which are frequently consumed with the staple foods exceed rice in the value of exchanges, but acquisitions of them only amount to about 0.5 lb per adult per week.

The climax in the circulation of tobacco and clothing during period II reflects the receipt of two gift parcels by sample members, with goods to an estimated value of $65. In the case of cartridges the increased circulation during the dry season was associated with improved hunting opportunities and, in connection with them, the quasi-entrepreneurial activities of one sample member.[1]

The manner in which storebought goods are circulated is similar to that of subsistence produce in that there is little storage or stock held. Because the utilisation of these goods is related primarily to specific circumstances, such as the availability of cash, receipt of gift parcels and feast requirements, the pattern of exchange over time assumes a highly irregular form which, to a considerable extent, obscures seasonal variations. It should be noted, however, that this form closely parallels that of the circulation of subsistence produce (see Fig.10:2).

A,[See Category 438, p. 193--Analysis]

[1] See p.119.

439 Discounting the effects of the researchers' presence, there is
431 a considerable excess of acquisitions over disposals. This largely reflects the continued participation in the gift exchange system of villagers' kin who are in close contact with the monetary sector as wage earners or settlers (see Table 11:9).[A] The contributions of such people are particularly marked in the case of rice and clothing, which are, in terms of value, the most important items of storebought produce entering the gift exchange system. As well as rice, tinned fish, bread, trade tobacco and several lesser food items all enter into the exchange system occasionally. They are invariably given in small quantities, sometimes in the daily food transfers and sometimes as contributions to a feast or party.

435 (b) Monetary sector

432 Table 11:2 shows the total values of items acquired and disposed in exchanges involving an immediate return of cash. Purchases of subsistence produce are insignificant compared with the amounts acquired through gift exchange and they are usually made to fulfil an urgent need, such as feast contributions. Areca nuts, however, are bought occasionally. They are mostly obtained in the Popondetta market, whereas fish and game are purchased from hawkers. Some garden produce was sold to road construction workers early in the survey, but the main sales of subsistence produce were made in Popondetta market during periods II and III and comprised mostly fish and smoked meat from hunted animals. The Inonda people acquire almost four times as much cash from sales as they spend on purchases of subsistence produce.

439 In total, subsistence produce accounts for only a small proportion of monetary exchanges, which are concerned mainly with storebought goods. The total value of purchases of such goods is almost $200. As with gift exchange, clothing and rice are the most important items, with certain other foodstuffs - tinned fish, bread, sugar, biscuits and flour - also accounting for significant proportions. Apart from food and clothing, the main items purchased comprise household goods and tools and equipment for work.

[438] Apart from goods sold through the medium of the trade store,[1] copra was the only non-traditional commodity sold during the 26 weeks of the recording periods. Some coffee was, however, sold in the weeks intervening between the three periods.[2]

439 The excess of acquisitions over disposals of storebought foods
431 is evidence of the comparatively slight degree to which they enter into the gift exchange system, with the exception of rice and tinned

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[1] For details of the operation of the trade store, see p.255. B A

[2] See p.257.

A,[See Category 592, p.247--Analyst] B,[See Category 444, p.235--Analyst]

437 (c) Cash

Table 11:3 shows that the Inonda people disposed of slightly more cash than they received during the survey period, but when transactions with the researchers are excluded the figures are in almost exact balance. No attempt was made at the beginning of the survey to record cash-in-hand and savings, so no detailed balance sheet can be presented.

Table 11:3

Inonda: acquisition and disposal of cash over the whole survey period
($)

	Acquisition	Disposal
Total of cash	337.38	340.70
Including:		
Savings bank transfers	18.00	10.00
Transactions with researchers	6.60	9.94

432 Seasonal variations in the exchange patterns

In presenting the seasonal variations in exchange patterns (and in all subsequent analyses), transactions in the two systems of gift and monetary exchange have been amalgamated. The effect of this amalgamation is greater for non-traditional than for most subsistence products. Thus, the Inonda people purchased rice worth $21.40 during the survey. Of the $12.94 worth of rice which individuals disposed of in gifts, $8.94 went to other Inonda people (Table 11:24)[A] and this forms only 16 per cent of total acquisitions of rice. For non-traditional items as a group, gifts received by the villagers from each other amount to only 7 per cent of the total value of acquisitions.

438 (i) Subsistence produce and storebought goods. Tables 11:4 and 11:5 show the seasonal variations in the exchange patterns by presenting the mean weekly amounts of various items acquired and disposed for each of the recording periods. The composition of the pattern may vary considerably from week to week during any season (see Figs.11:1 and 11:2). Thus, pigmeat formed 43 per cent (263 lbs) of acquisitions of subsistence items in week 4, but only 3 per cent (16 lbs) in week 6. Taro formed 32 per cent (191 lbs) and 65 per cent (349 lbs) respectively in the same weeks. However, the differences between the seasons as a whole have greater significance than intra-seasonal variations.

A. [i.e., Table 11:17; see Category 482, p. 285--Analyn]

437 221 The major part is received from Inonda people but a significant proportion comes from outsiders, mainly young unmarried kinsmen from other villages. One tree will normally provide enough food reserves for several families, so not everyone makes sago during the year and assistance, whether from within or outside the village, may not be repaid until the following year and may not necessarily be in sago-making. This is the main reason for the imbalance noted above[1] between services received and given. Assistance in some less time-consuming tasks is also seasonal. The hunting and butchering of game is concentrated almost entirely into the feasting season (period I), whereas assistance in tasks connected with garden establishment occurs mainly in the dry season and the beginning of the wet. The mean weekly acquisition of services in tasks related to the monetary sector was highest in the dry season, when one man received help in establishing a coffee garden. Monetary sector services in the other periods were primarily in maintenance of mature coffee trees.

434 (iii) Cash. There is a sharp rise in the mean amount of cash acquired through the three recording periods (see Table 11:7), reflecting increased income from marketing in periods II and III and from the construction contract in period III. These factors 432 are a result not of seasonal influences but of exploiting chance opportunities. Weekly expenditure also increased, but much more slowly. Even so, there is a rapid turnover of cash. The excess weekly expenditure in period I is derived largely from cash acquired in paid employment and trade store sales immediately before the survey began. The excess in period II results from gifts of cash and cash crop sales in the weeks prior to the start of the period. The rise in expenditure in period II reflects seasonal purchases of flour but the increased spending in period III was mainly on clothing.

Table 11:7

Inonda: mean weekly transactions of cash during each recording period
($)

		Period		
		I	II	III
Cash	Acquisition	5.11	10.05	26.20
	Disposal	9.65	12.47	14.75

[1] Page 235.

In the same way, there appears to be little relationship between the levels of transactions in most categories and either the rank of household heads or the total area cultivated by households. Where possibly significant differences in the rates of acquisitions and disposals appear, they are mostly explainable in terms of the various factors mentioned above. However, as regards rank, it is striking that the leading man's household is first in its rate of acquisition of most items, though only second for taro and pigmeat. It leads in acquisitions of both cash and subsistence sector services and is second in its rate of disposals of taro, banana, pigmeat and subsistence services.

It appears, then, that high status confers both material responsibilities and benefits. The main advantage accruing to the entrepreneur seems to be that he needs to spend less time than others in gardening and the time thus saved is directed into cash-producing activities.[1] This consideration applies only to the leading man and transactions according to the other rankings do not fall into a noticeable order.

(b) The expenditure of cash

Table 11:10 shows the pattern of purchases by each household during each recording period and over the whole survey. While there are considerable differences between households in the total value of purchases and a wide range in the proportion of cash income devoted to commodity purchases, there is less difference in the actual composition of the expenditure patterns (see Table 11:11).

For all but one household (which has a total expenditure below $3), food and stimulants account for over half of the purchases. Rice forms between 7 and 16 per cent of the total of all except the Jego'undi household, the proportion varying little over the survey. Flour on the other hand, was bought only during period II, when it formed almost one-quarter of all purchases and the proportions of tinned meat and fish in particular were reduced. The proportion formed by clothing and personal goods is also reduced at this time. All households, except the widow's, purchase flour, the amount bearing no relation to income.

None of the households containing the older people (18, 19 and 24) bought clothing, while only one (24) bought any other personal goods or tools and equipment. Apart from these, the other non-cash cropping households (20 and 22) also spend small proportions on these categories and on household goods compared with the proportions of expenditure allocated by the cash cropping households (16, 17, 21 and 23). Clothing accounts for one-quarter of the expenditure of three of the latter households.

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[1] See pp.161-2.

the construction contract. Most of the rest was exchanged as gifts or loans. Nine dollars was received from settlers as wages, the rest as gifts or loans. Most of the money received from wage earners was in the form of gifts from kin or friends, but a small amount was acquired early in the survey by the sale of coconuts and bananas to road-workers. Gambling winnings accounted for half the money received from settlers, and wages a further 25 per cent. A total of $12 was received by two people in remittances from a kinsman working in Madang. Acquisitions of cash from organisations are mostly in the form of payments by the Administration for goods and contracts, wages from the road-construction company and receipts from marketing, while disposals consist mostly of payments to trade stores and council tax.

In summary, it may be said that the bulk of exchanges of subsistence produce are with other villagers, except for sales of certain items at market and generally small exchanges with settlers retaining firm links with their village-based kin. Transactions of cash and storebought items are largely confined to organisations, other villagers and wage earners in the Popondetta sub-district. Labour services are almost wholly with other villagers, apart from a little assistance given to settlers.

The geographical dimensions of exchange (see Maps 2 and 5)[A]

(i) Subsistence produce. Tables 11:19-24 show the locations of partners (whether people or organisations) with whom Inonda people engaged in transactions during the survey. Most are villages, but they also include plantations, settlement blocks, mission stations and isolated trade stores. Tables 11:19 and 11:20 present the information for transactions of subsistence produce and reveal that almost two-thirds of acquisitions come from within the village itself and a further 25 per cent from people living within a radius of two miles. Seventy-one per cent of the disposals are to Inonda villagers and a further 18 per cent to people within two miles' radius. People or organisations (particularly the market) at a distance of five miles or more account for 11 per cent of both acquisitions and disposals. The distribution reflects primarily the closeness of contacts with kin, most of whom (apart from affines) live within two miles of the village at Ajoro (which moved its site during the survey and changed its name to Hahemo), Ijika, Mosou and the Girua settlement block. The relationship with the road construction workers' camp at Evundo followed the marriage of an Inonda girl to a New Guinean labourer. Links with places at a greater distance are also almost exclusively based on kinship. Several households have consanguineal ties with Sewa and Urio villages; two households in particular maintain close contacts with relatives in Ururu, Popondetta and Hohorita and another household with the wife's kin at Sangara plantation and in Kendata village

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 270]

A. [See Category 102, pp. 8, 52--Analyst]

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Table 12:1

Sivepe and Inonda: the volume of transactions per man-week compared

Item	Acquired		Disposed	
	Total	Mean (per man-week)	Total	Mean (per man-week)
Sivepe				
Subsistence produce (lbs)	11,553.00	17.10	15,091.00	22.30
Cash crops ($)	-	-	71.60	0.11
Labour services (hrs)	1,170.00	1.70	1,108.00	1.60
Storebought goods ($)	314.16	0.46	25.43	0.04
Cash ($)	273.72	0.40	239.20	0.35
Inonda				
Subsistence produce (lbs)	14,032.00	35.30	14,088.00	35.40
Cash crops ($)	-	-	2.32	0.01
Labour services (hrs)	631.20	1.60	439.90	1.10
Storebought goods ($)	373.04	0.94	41.08	0.10
Cash ($)	337.36	0.85	340.70	0.86

Total man-weeks: Sivepe - 677.3
Inonda - 397.4

wage-labour force may be related to this local diversity, and the fact that it is readily exploited through the medium of exchange, both monetary and non-monetary. Compared with their Sivepe counterparts, the Inonda people dispose of twice the volume of subsistence produce through the monetary sector, with sales of fish and game in Popondetta predominating. With settlers a wide range of subsistence produce is exchanged, labour services are rendered and cash payments received, while wage earners, whose involvement in the cash economy is greater than that of the settlers, serve as important sources of storebought goods and cash, which may be reciprocated with subsistence produce.

At Sivepe there appears to be less incentive to develop exchange relationships outside the village context. Apart from lime and fish there is little subsistence produce not readily available locally. The demand for produce at Saiho market is limited, while the prices obtained discourage regular selling. The few wage earners residing in the neighbourhood have small incomes and invariably maintain their own gardens. Consequently they control few goods not directly available to the villagers themselves from their own resources.

474 443 438 purchases. In this way the shareholders obtained additional rebate benefits. In general, however, sales to non-shareholders correlated fairly closely with the presence or absence of small coastal trading vessels at the wharf.

[432] Most of the buying at the store was done by men. There were no women shareholders, but wives and daughters used their husbands' and fathers' share numbers when purchasing goods.[1] The men were discriminating buyers and a man who had walked some miles to the store to buy a specific item would usually stand for a while surveying the goods displayed and asking a question or two about [521] prices. After the purchase was made, usually of only one or two items, the buyer left the store, but usually stopped to chat at Surilai village on the northern side of the store before going home.

474 438 511 An analysis made of the spending patterns of a group of 27 Yega shareholders over a two-year period (January 1961-December 1962) showed that of a total expenditure of $1148, 49 per cent was spent on food (mainly tinned meat, tinned fish, rice and sugar), 11 per cent on tobacco, 11 per cent on clothing, 7 per cent on kitchen utensils, 3 per cent on garden tools and 17 per cent on miscellaneous items including torches, soft drinks, kerosene, matches, fishing gear, etc.

[262] [493] [412] The most sought after foods were those with high protein content - tinned meats and fish. Only one bicycle (costing $52) was sold during the two years surveyed. The low rate of spending on garden tools is noteworthy, considering the importance of gardening in the Yega economy; but axes and bush knives were carefully guarded and, being very durable they needed only occasional replacement.

[291] Almost every Yega child over six years of age and every adult of both sexes owned at least one item of European-type clothing. On working days, cotton skirts were worn by the girls and women, and shorts or cotton loin cloths by the men, but tapa (bark cloth) skirts were preferred by the adolescent girls and tapa boavo (bark loin cloth) by the older men for Sunday wear. Most people preferred to purchase their clothing requirements from the wider range available in the larger Popondetta stores rather than from the co-operative.

474 443 [366] Retail trading showed a remarkable increase from 1961-2 to 1962-3. The turnover doubled during the financial year but a fall-off in trade of about 12½ per cent occurred in 1963-4. This situation probably resulted from lower spending by Yega shareholders,

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[1] In the course of six or seven visits to the store I can recall only once having seen a woman at the counter.

Alienated land

432 The only alienated land in the Inonda area is a mission lease of five acres close to the village. It was purchased by the government for the sum of £5 and leased to the Anglican Mission for a school site.(1) The purchase money was paid to the then head of the Andiriha sub-clan but it is said that he received it in his capacity as leader of the lineage which had occupied this land (or as successor to the head of the extinct Paru lineage). The money was not shared. The main Popondetta-Oro Bay Road runs through Inonda, but the actual purchase of the land by the Crown has not yet been completed.

Transmission of land rights

425 Examples have been given of the transfer of land rights between clans (pages 14-16, 21-23) and of the succession to rights of a lineage which died out (page 26). Within the lineage the ideal pattern of inheritance of land rights by individuals 428 613 is patrilineal. The sons often hold rights jointly, though in some instances the lands have been divided between sons. As the number of resident adult males in any lineage does not seem to have exceeded three either in the present or the remembered past, joint rightholding has not occasioned undue difficulty. Although it is customary for the rightholder who is senior by birth to act as spokesman for the rightholding group, he does not appear to hold any superior rights to his co-parceners. While the patrilineal pattern predominates it is modified by factors of residence, family size, adoption, availability of land, and matrilateral and affinal connections.

The people traced the inheritance of proprietary rights to twenty-two out of thirty-seven blocks of land by direct patrilineal descent from five initial rightholders. It is appreciated that deviant relationships (adoptions, illegitimacies, refugees, etc.) are often forgotten, particularly in earlier generations, and memory assimilates the realities to the ideal pattern. It is therefore possible that inheritance was not so direct in fact.

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(1) It is not at present in use as the school was shifted several years ago to Hohota.

472 554 153 marketing or the more intricate techniques of production. It does suggest, however, that they have a sufficiently clear conception of the way to achieve the goal (and the way is more important than the goal itself) to enable them to organise and to act. It is apparent that the entrepreneurs studied were highly motivated.[1]

Land and food gardens

241 423 [428] [472] Most Orokaiva men established their cash crops on customary land to which they have acquired rights by inheritance from their fathers. None of the entrepreneurs did so, though all claim that they could have done had they wished but deliberately chose not to. Each stated that the reason was to avoid claims by kin to their land, produce or income.

241 423 472 A had cleared bush land and planted coffee at Garara where his close kin had been permitted to resettle in the late 1920s. Though the host clan did not mind the newcomers planting food crops they objected to cash crops and forced him to abandon it. About 1930 the newcomers purchased about 2,000 acres of virgin bush land at Kapurahambo from the clans of Soputa. The transfer was accompanied by a series of feasts and dances and the distribution of traditional valuables. The land was divided among the buying group, A and his two brothers being allocated an area of eighty-one acres on which they have since planted cocoa and coffee. A has applied for registration of his land under the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance 1963. [656]

B claims he had extensive customary land available to him and this is confirmed by other villagers. But for his cash crops (coffee and cocoa) he chose to clear an area of unoccupied bush land which had formerly been owned by a small group which had been decimated and the survivors scattered decades before. B thought he would acquire exclusive rights to the area he cleared (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:72-3). He subsequently improved the security of his title by registering this land under the Higaturu Council land registration scheme, a transitional scheme, now superseded. He has since applied for registration under the 1963 legislation. [656]

[432] C has rights to hundreds of acres of customary lands. For his cash-cropping, however, he chose to use two adjacent blocks of a total of 106 acres which had been purchased by the government for European settlement in the 1920s for 54 pounds of tobacco, one tomahawk and one knife. The European lessor planted coconuts but abandoned the property before the second world war. Though legally

[1] A better understanding of this aspect will be achieved by research to be undertaken in 1967 by Ruth Finney of the University of California.

balance in December 1965 being close to $300. The value of savings certificates averaged $10, shares in Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Society and Gona Co-operative Society $10, shares in Oro Ltd $85 and cash in hand $42, giving an average total of all liquid assets of $447.[1] In both cash and other liquid assets A, B and C were much better off than D, though D's consumption level appeared to be very much higher because of his government development loan.

A, C and D have no traditional valuables (hambo and di) though in each case their brothers do have. B had $87 worth in May 1963.[2] The averages for Inonda and Sivepe villages, by comparison, were $18 and $11 per man. Whereas Inonda people acquired most of their valuables by inheritance or in traditional exchanges, B acquired almost all of his for cash.[3] In his young days he bought some when visiting distant places but most of them have been acquired when people appeal to him at tax collection time (tax is $4 per year) or when they need cash for other urgent necessities. The visitor presents him with a valuable and asks for 'help' in the form of its cash value. Most persons requesting this help have been distant maternal kin, but some are friends with whom he had trading or work connections in earlier years. The fact that none come from his own village is said to be because neighbours or close relatives would be ashamed to ask for money in this way. The other three entrepreneurs say they decline requests of this kind.

Income

An attempt to assess annual expenditure was abandoned. It is difficult enough to assess income which comes in relatively large amounts from limited sources and at long intervals and for which some records are available as a check. Expenditure, on the other hand, is in much smaller amounts, for a much wider range of commodities and for which almost no documentary evidence is available.

An assessment of income is given in Table 4.

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[1] Cash savings of Inonda and Sivepe village householders, on the other hand, averaged $24 and $21 respectively.

[2] For method of valuing hambo and di, see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:97.

[3] We have heard of recent examples of sale within villages elsewhere in the Orokaiva area.